

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## UNION

My friends will hear with pleasure, that I am beginning to think of going back to London. To be sure, the revolution is going on very well without me; but, hang it, it must not take place without my having some little hand in it, after having, for thirty years, been accused of "revolutionary designs." The slang of SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH's proclamations, put forth under the name of the superb and sublime George the Fourth, was, "designing men, who, under the pretence of reform, really mean revolution." This was their slang for twenty years; and I was one of the "designing men." Thank God, the work of revolution is now in abler hands; and it does go on at a humming rate! Really, more than half my illness has arisen from my fretting for fear the whole thing should be accomplished in my absence! This fear is now over; and if the present able hands will but put the finish off for a little while longer, they shall have my vote at any rate. God-a-mercy! Only think of "postponing till next session" the separation of the church from the state! My "Manchester Propositions" were deemed madness! It is always my fate to be about three or four years before the public. The church will not have left to her what the Manchester Propositions would have left her! That is now evident.

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"I shall live to see those greedy bull-frog farmers, who are now crying out for my punishment; who are now exulting at the injury which Corrupt on is inflicting on me; I shall live to see DADDY COKE and his hole-and-corner crew; I shall live to see them, not repent of their calumnies heaped on me: no, no: but, I shall live to see them suffer for their baseness. I shall live to see me, because, and only because, I have pleaded the cause of the poor labourers: they cannot as they do, that by which they can be saved, and that, without adopting my principles and using my arguments; this they will not do: but I shall live to see them do it, or become beggars." —Register, 17. January, 1823.

## TO THE COMMITTEE

OF THE

## AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION OF GOOLE.

Normandy Farm, 20. May, 1834.

COMMITTEE,

(For "gentlemen" you never shall be called by me), I have read your MANIFESTO, and I deem it worthy of the particular attention of my readers. Look at the MOTTO! I do not know, that it applies to all of you: there may be some amongst you to whom it does not apply; but, to the body of you it applies; and to you, as the organ of an association of farmers, it applies. Even now, at this late hour, when the hand of ruin is upon you; even now when your howls of misery, like those of PHILOCETES, disturb the repose of JUPITER and JUNO, and their goodly family and court; even now you resort to every possible evasion, in order to avoid acknowledging, even by implication, that your ruin would have been prevented if my advice had been listened to! Even now you speak of the effects of PEEL'S BILL as of something which no one had foreseen; as something which you, and your like, have just found out; as something which, until now, has been hidden from all eyes, shut up from all understandings; as something for which

no one has, until now, ever pointed out a remedy! And this you do, while you use arguments ten thousand times used *by me*, and while you use almost *my very words*! Why, you are the basest of all mankind: the negro slave is not so base as you: I rejoice at your sufferings, and am cheered to gaiety by your dismal anticipations, knowing well that those anticipations will be realized!

Why do I so *hate* you? Why entertain such feelings, such deep-rooted enmity to a whole class? My answer is this: hatred begets hatred, and particularly when the original hatred is *wholly unprovoked*; and when, indeed, the party hated, merits friendship instead of hatred from the haters. But, what *proof* have I that this enmity, this deadly hostility towards me exists, or has existed in your breasts, if *breasts* such greedy, unjust and cruel monsters can be said to have? What *proof* have I? Why, the monsters in Hampshire even now familiarly, as if the fact were taken for granted, *ascribe all the fires to me*, though it is notorious, they arose out of their own base endeavours to reduce their labourers to potatoes and salt: though that has been proved, over and over again, in courts of justice and before committees of the Commons: though it has been proved, that the fires proceeded solely from your own base hard-heartedness, still you have the infamy to *ascribe them to me*. This fact is notorious from one end of the kingdom to the other.

Then, there are the specific facts of the manifesto of AYLSFORD and a whole tribe of big-farmers, threatening to ruin an innkeeper, unless he turned me out of his inn, I being very ill at the time. Next there is the Sussex-Polt, and the manifesto of TREADCROFT, BURRELL, and BLUNT; and the consequent Old Bailey indictment by DENMAN, and the Whig attempt to shut me up in jail for the rest of my life. But, one *proof* that I have now to give would, of itself, be more than sufficient.

In the month of December, 1832, I was coming to London, after the election at Oldham. The stage coach in which I came from Birmingham to

London was covered, on the outside, by bull-frog farmers, coming up to the *Smithfield cattle show*. The load consisted wholly of them, except the young man who was, and who is, *my secretary*. Understanding that I was *in the coach*, they, having been picked up along through Northamptonshire, principally, began to talk of me; and, as the base newspapers had not failed to guard a religious *silence on the subject of Oldham*, while they had as religiously given an account of my having *lost the election at Manchester*, these beasts were extremely *merry* on the subject of my defeat, cracking their stupid jokes in abundance at my expense, and took occasion, one of them, to utter a little *calumny* against me, speaking of me in general terms as a *bad man*. My secretary, who despised their jests, and laughed at their *fine words*, picked up from their boarding-school daughters, and pronounced in their own vulgar brogue, did not stand this abuse: he asked the calumniators whether they *knew me*, and, having been answered in the negative, he said *he did*, and that the man who said such and such things of me, be he who he might, was guilty of *falsehood*, and saying it behind my back when he might, if he would, say it to my face, he was also a *coward*, as well as a calumniator. This having reduced them to silence, he said: "What; do you think, then, that Mr. COBBETT is not a member of Parliament?" They referred to the newspapers and Manchester. He then explained the affair to them, which made them *dumb*! The coach having stopped (for dinner I think it was) at REDBURN, and I, who did not get out of it, having called Mr. GUTSELL (my secretary) to me, and these vagabonds hearing me ask him whether he was not cold, and to express to him my wish that he should come to the inside, they, when they got up again, though, before, they had jammed him up on the outside iron of the coach, made a good seat for him, called him "*sir*," and two or three of the base rascals actually, before they got up, came up to the coach door, and *pulled off their hats* to



me; and, when we got down at the inn, in London, every villain of them did the same.

Now, what had I ever done to *injure* or to *offend* these vagabonds? They knew nothing of my person, my character, or my manners. Ah! but they had all heard that I had reprobated the attempt to *reduce the labourers to potatoes and salt!* That was enough! I had, for many years, been labouring to protect the land from ruin, from that ruin that has now fallen upon it. The conduct towards me of the landowners and big-farmers was as unnatural as it was base and cowardly. It is so up to this very hour; it is such in this manifesto of yours; and now, when I have inserted it, and begged my readers to read it with attention, I am about to remark on this manifesto, expressing my joy at your sufferings and your dangers, not being able to discover any reason, any sense, any justice, in my feeling compassion for those who hate me without cause, and who have proved, in innumerable instances, that they would destroy me if they could; not being able to discover any morality, or any religion, in my abstaining from expressing this joy, I do express it; and I say, with perfect sincerity, that it glads my heart to think of it.

AN APPEAL TO THE FARMERS, AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS, AND ARTIFICERS, FROM THE GOOLE AGRICULTURAL COMMITTEE.

1. In addressing you upon the present condition and future prospects of the landed interest of this kingdom, we feel that it would be now an unnecessary waste of time were we to take any pains in pointing out to you the existence of that severe distress which so generally pervades those *classes of society that depend for support upon the cultivation of the soil.* Our object is not to point out that with which experience has already made you too well acquainted, but to call your attention to what we believe to be the cause of your present poverty, and to a consideration of the means, which we think you ought to adopt for the purpose of obtaining some amelioration of your condition.

2. At the present prices of grain, farmers find that they have not any adequate means of meeting the various demands made upon them in the shape of labourers' wages, rent, taxes, and parochial rates; and the labourers find that in consequence of the poverty of the farmers, they either cannot obtain that employment which in more prosperous times they were able to obtain, or that they must work for lower wages. The work to be done continues indeed the same, but as the farmer has less money to spend upon it, the work must either be done for a less price, or must remain partly undone.

3. This state of things however did not always exist (most of you indeed whom we now address have seen far more prosperous times); and we feel confident that by carefully attending to the different circumstances under which you prospered, and those under which you have seen nothing but steadily increasing poverty, we shall be enabled to point out the real cause of this lamentable change.

4. When you had *an abundant circulation of paper money* there were but few complaints of rent, parochial rates, and taxes; because though you had to meet heavy demands, you had the means of meeting them. The farmers were then flourishing, the agricultural labourers fully employed, and at the same time the manufacturers were more generally prosperous than they have been since the *contraction of the currency*, and the fall in the price of grain. And we firmly believe that in those days they paid 5*l.* per quarter for wheat with less dissatisfaction than they now feel in paying half that price. Circumstances which ought to induce them to suspect at least, that the low rate of wages and profits of which they have of late years so greatly complained, is attributable to a cause very different from the want of "cheap bread."

5. This state of prosperity was however destroyed by that most *lamentable piece of legislation, called Peel's Bill.* A measure strongly urged upon the Ministry by the party now in power, who seemed not to be in the least aware

of the mischievous effects which it has produced. This bill obliged every person who had to pay money, from thenceforth to pay about 27s. for every pound that had been previously borrowed; and as all taxes were to be paid in this new value, the effect was the same as if, without altering the currency, a great increase had suddenly been made in the amount of the taxes levied. The currency being thus reduced in quantity, a general fall in prices was the immediate consequence. That fall however did not merely keep pace with the change made in the currency, but it necessarily went beyond that mark; we had to collect our gold and silver, amounting to between twenty and thirty millions of pounds, from other nations; and by thus diminishing the quantity of their currency, we necessarily reduced their prices and their means of paying their own debts and taxes, and by thus impoverishing nations connected with us by means of commercial transactions, we produced a still further reduction in this country. Thus this measure which was brought forward as a cure for all evils, and as *a final settlement of the question*, produced mischief not only in Great Britain, but throughout Europe; reducing the value or amount in price in every thing *except the taxes*, for let it not be forgotten that *taxation* was not reduced when the currency was altered, but we were left to pay the same taxes with diminished means. And this question, so far from being set at rest *for ever*, according to the late Mr. Canning's observation, has been, up to the present time, more constantly the object of anxious discussion and dissatisfaction than any other question whatever. Had common justice been done, or probably had the legislature been aware of the effect which this bill was going to produce, the *interest of the national debt* and the other expenses of government would have *been reduced* in proportion to the alteration made in the currency. But few members of Parliament seemed to be aware of the nature of the measure which they so unanimously supported, and it now remains for you to petition again and

again that justice shall at last be rendered to you, that is, that Parliament will either *reduce the interest of the national debt* in the same proportion in which they increased the value of the currency, or otherwise (and what may be more easily effected) that *they will restore the currency to its former value*.

6. Public debts and private debts are governed by the same rules; so that if a man (or a nation) has an annual amount of interest to pay, which cannot be discharged without ruin to the parties, there are but two ways of relief; either the payment itself must be reduced or the means of payment must be increased. The effect will be the same to the party in either case, but we firmly believe that without the adoption of one of these measures, nothing can restore you to prosperity.

7. We are thus earnest in recommending you to petition Parliament for *some specific measure*, from a conviction founded on experience, that unless you will unite in so doing, all your complaints will be useless; you will be called, in the language of the *Leeds Mercury*, "*miserymongers*." Your distress will be treated with indifference, and by the advocates of free trade even with contempt. Your complaints will be neglected, and your enemies, by asking what it is you wish to have done, will perplex and divide your real friends, and prevent them co-operating for your benefit, while it will furnish to your pretended friends a ready excuse for doing nothing. But this will at least *show the fundholders* that you have *discovered the cause of your poverty*, and that you will no longer patiently submit to pay to them so much more than they ought equitably to receive, and although this may not make the fundholders your friends, it will at least tend to check in them any indication to join in the clamour for a repeal of the existing corn-laws.

8. There is however another measure almost equally necessary to your welfare. Although you know from woful experience that corn-laws alone will not preserve you from poverty, yet, so long as you have high taxes to pay, you must



have a protecting duty on the foreign grain grown by farmers, who have scarce any taxes to pay, and though there is reason to believe that you would derive more benefit from an alteration of the currency without any corn-laws, than from a continuance of the latter without any alteration in the former, still we consider that you are clearly entitled to both these measures; for no one will maintain that one act of injustice done towards you can be any excuse for another measure equally unjust; and it appears to us that you are as much entitled to a protecting duty on foreign grain, as a manufacturer is to a protecting duty on foreign manufactures.

9. We wish to caution you against the advice of those persons who would persuade you that you ought to seek for relief in a general reduction of rents: such advice is often given with the most honest intentions, but it is far more frequently given by those who are in reality your enemies, and who endeavour by sowing enmity between the landlord and tenant "to divide and conquer." No doubt there are many places where rents have not been adequately reduced, but there are others where they have been reduced to even one-fourth of their former amount; and you well know that there are thousands upon thousands of acres which have hitherto maintained the occupiers of them in respectability and comfort, that would not without the protection of the corn-laws, repay to the cultivator the expenses of cultivating them, even if he were to have them rent free. The truth is, rent forms but a comparatively small part of the outgoings of a farmer; as may be easily made to appear. You can scarcely pay your way with wheat at the present price, viz. about 50s. per quarter; now it appears from recent calculations, that the rental of arable land in the kingdom does not average quite 30s. per acre, and also that the average produce of wheat per acre is nearly three quarters, which at 50s. per quarter amounts to 7*l.* 10s. per acre. But suppose that in consequence of a repeal of the corn-laws wheat should fall to 30s. or 35s. per quarter, and that consequently you receive but 4*l.* 10s. or 5*l.*

per acre instead of 7*l.* 10s., and that too, for the produce of your money-making crop, what in that case would avail any reduction of rent? A similar calculation may be made with reference to crops of barley, oats, and beans. Do not then deceive yourselves by supposing that the question of the corn-laws is merely the landlord's question; on the clearest evidence of figures, we declare it to be your question, and that your existence as farmers depends upon its final arrangement.

10. The time is now come when you must unite and act; there must be no trifling, no indifference. The Ministers may be willing to afford you relief and protection, but they cannot do so, unless you yourselves come forward and by your petitions support them in resisting the clamour of the manufacturers. Your enemies are combined and indefatigable, and though we dare not hope that you will equal them in activity, still you may be, and if you would avoid ruin you must be determined and persevering. You are not inferior to them in numbers, and however unwilling the master manufacturers may be to allow it, there is no doubt that many of the working classes are not desirous of repealing the present corn-laws, and will not join their masters in the clamour for "cheap bread," well knowing that their own wages will be reduced in proportion to the reduction in the price of bread.

11. Awake then, we conjure you, landlords, farmers, and labourers, and all you who depend for support upon the prosperity of agriculture. Awake to a sense of the dangers which threaten you. Petition from every township against the repeal of the corn-laws, and for either *reduction of the interest of the national debt*, corresponding to the alteration of the currency effected by *Peel's Bill*, or otherwise for a *restitution of the currency* to the situation in which it was before that bill came into operation. For the experience of the effects of the measure of 1819, during the last fourteen or fifteen years, has only served to prove its mischievous consequences in progressively impoverishing the agricultural interest, and in fact, all classes of

the community, except the fundholders and tenants.

Coth. 10. Feb. 1834.

That this is a landlord's production is evident enough; but that is no matter: it speaks the sentiments of the whole body, landlords and big farmers too. It sets out with the old foolishness; namely, calling those a *class*, who depend for support on the cultivation of the soil; just as if there were any people in the country who *did not so depend*. This is only a *foolery*; but it has done a great deal to sink the landowners in the estimation of the majority of the people. Talk of "*classes*," and I warrant you that those who assembled together in crowds will be the most numerous class; and, unless they be actually at work out in the *fields*, they will insist that they have nothing to do with the land. Butchers, bakers, drovers, cattle-sellers, plough-makers, churn-makers, cheese-makers; they are all of the "*other classes*" of society. But you are only fools here in imitation of "*your betters*."

One can plainly see that you are living at an issue of small paper-money. "*Few complained*," you say, "*when there was an abundant circulation of paper-money*." "Then," you say, "*farmers flourished*." But, did they ever flourish before? Until about a hundred and thirty years ago there never was, in England, any paper-money at all; and then the poor-rates amounted to only about 200,000*l.* a year. Until 1756 there were no bank-notes under twenty pounds. Then, the taxes having been increased by the war of that time, ten-pound notes were put out. The American war having greatly augmented the debt and the taxes, PITT put out five-pound notes in 1793. Pushed hard for gold by the French war against "*Jacobins and levellers*," the Bank put out, by law passed on purpose, one-pounders in 1797. But ~~the~~ FARMERS never flourish till these rags came out? Yes! good farmers always flourished; always led easy and happy lives before this accursed paper-

money came to scourge the nation; and yet you want this scourge back again!

You, the *bull-frogger*, did not flourish indeed; for, as yet, you were not! It was the paper-money that created you. It was that; it was the false capital; it was the moulding of a dozen farms into one; it was the making of simple men and small farmers mere labourers; it was this that made you flourish, while those who did the work were perishing. You flourished while they declined; you rode a hunting in red jackets while they were reduced to rags; you got *pianos* and *commodes* and *bidets* into your houses, while they were stripped of their pewter and their bedding, and were reduced to the earthen platter and straw. You flourished; but the flourishing was not to be everlasting. Our famous countryman, PAINÉ, curses on whom have been on the lips of every one of you, says, most beautifully, of paper-money, that "*it rises in a rocket, and falls in a stick*." I do not ask you to admire the beauty of this sentence, but I ask you to reflect on the truth which it teaches; and to say whether it do not describe your own progress. You were *rockets*; you are now *sticks*! You want to be *rockets again*! That is as impossible as it is for you to be men of sound sense and public spirit; and that is more impossible than it is for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle.

You have an *alternative*; but, it is clear, that you want the paper-money out again, vainly supposing, that that would bring back with it all the many important circumstances, amidst which the paper-money existed before, but which are now gone never to return. You are clearly very ignorant men: you just know, that the banishment of the small paper has lowered your prices; but, you do not see the inevitable consequences of putting out the paper again. You seem not to know any thing that is passing beyond the confines of the fanatical, negro-bitten, crack-skulled county in which you live. If your knowledge did extend farther, nay, if it only went as far as HUDDERSFIELD or SHEFFIELD, you would know what



is passing, about paper-money, in the *United States of America*: you would know, that this scourge, after having ruined farmers by thousands upon thousands; after having shifted property in the most fraudulent manner from the owners to unprincipled speculators; after having actually convulsed the whole country, and brought the existence of the Government itself into peril; after having done all this, you would see it about to be wholly rooted out and destroyed; and, you would know, that, if this take place there, a total blowing up of the whole paper system *must take place here*, if we attempt to *augment the quantity of our paper*!

So that, you may cure yourselves as soon as possible of your *hankering* after the pretty little bits of oblong square paper: you will be the *rockets* no more, and you will have no very bad luck if you be any thing of decent *sticks*.

However, you leave the Parliament a choice: "*either reduce the interest of the debt, or restore the currency.*" I must stop here to observe on this word "*restore.*" To *restore* is to *bring back* to its former and right and proper state. To "*restore the currency*" of England is, therefore, to abolish all paper-money whatsoever. But, your heads are so full of the "*flourishing*" times; so full of the times when you were *rockets*; that you seem to think, that *war against Jacobins and one-pound notes* constitutes the right, the natural, the proper state of things in England; instead of its being a most lamentable state, a state which could not be permanent, and the temporary existence of which every wise man and lover of his country trembles but to think of. Aye: it is "*the restoration of the currency*" that I have always been for; it *must* take place; but, whether without a *dreadful convulsion*, I do not undertake to say. This *might* have been avoided, if you had acted your part well; but you chose what you deemed your own interest in preference to the interests of your country; and, be the consequences yours.

So much for "*restoring*"; and now

for the "*REDUCING OF THE INTEREST OF THE DEBT.*" And did you not *blush* as you were putting this upon paper? And will you not *blush* when you make this the prayer of a petition to Parliament? Then you have either *no blood* in you, or your skins are as thick as the ten bull-hides that made the shield of Ajax. Could you put these words upon paper, without remembering how often you had called me "*a rogue*" for having proposed such reduction? Could you put these words upon paper, without being impelled by an involuntary movement of conscience to *name me*, and to make your acknowledgments to me? Yes; you could, and you did; and for this I pronounce you to be amongst the very basest of all mankind. Ah! you think, that you shall yet *get out of the scrape*; landowners think that they shall save their estates, and the bull-frogs think they shall save their bags (if they have any left), without *appearing*, at least, to come to *my shop*! You cannot: you must *make* wheat sell for about eight or ten shillings a bushel, and the Bank pay in gold at the same time; or to my shop you must come, and *all the world must see you come*! It is not a little matter, or a short time, that breaks up a body like you. You have lived upon mere reputation for some years; but, a system, which gives to *usurers* three-fifths of a nation's income, and one-third more than the rental of the nation, must finally break up all the landowners, who do not *share with the usurers*. This breaking up has been going on ever since about the year 1794; but, since 1814, with accelerated pace; and, since 1819, with redoubled acceleration: and, at every stage, I have predicted what would come, have been ridiculed for my predictions, and calumniated for my remedy.

The history of my efforts and of my treatment, as connected with this matter, ought never to be forgotten: it is as interesting a thing as ever attracted the attention of states. All the way through, we see a Government and Parliament continually forewarned by an individual; they always *disregard* his forewarnings; the events always

proving him right, and them wrong; a press with five hundred Cerberean mouths always barking at him, and applauding them; ninety-hundredths of the people always led by that Cerberean press; and now, at last, that people praying for the very thing which he had been vilified so long for having proposed! The mass of the people, those whose mouths were not full of taxes, or whose noses were not upon the scent after them; the mass of the people, whenever they had the matter fairly explained to them, were right; witness the petition from the county of Kent, in June, 1822, and that from the county of Norfolk, in 1823. These petitions are on the records of Parliament. Only think of the abuse, the calumny, the base and cowardly attacks which they brought upon me! They both prayed for a reduction of the interest of the debt: that was their sin; for that I was called *rogue*, as the mildest term that ought to be applied to me; though, considering my situation in life, it was utterly impossible to conceive how I myself could possibly gain by such reduction. The assailants argued as if the whole debt was a debt due by me, and by nobody but me.

But, committee, sensible and candid committee, you advise the farmers to rouse from their lethargy, to bestir themselves, and TO PETITION for a "reduction of the interest of the debt, or, for a restoration of the currency"; namely, one-pound notes and permanently depreciated paper-money! Ah! let me, oh God! see some of those petitions! Will such petitions be listened to? Will they be acted on? Not, I am persuaded, until it be too late for reason and justice to prevail in the settlement. The USURERS are too strong for any Government composed as this is; the ties by which they hold the Government are too numerous and too strong to be broken by anything short of the united voice of the millions; if PRESIDENT JACKSON, with the millions at his back, and with foreign usurers to contend with, finds so much difficulty in subduing the monster of paper-money, without a debt, too, how

is this Government to face that which it would have to contend with? Besides, the USURERS OF THE FUNDS, here, have allies, and most powerful allies, too, in the corporation called the "SISTER-SERVICES," and in all the bands of pensioners, sinecure people, and allowance people, who, all together, take about six millions a year. These all know well; that the debt never can be touched without first touching them. They feel that they are on the same plank with the usurers of the funds; and that, together they must continue to swim, or together sink. They are all receiving double pay as well as the usurers of the funds; so that it is impossible to complain of one without complaining of the other.

No Government, no Parliament, could therefore attempt a reduction, without having at its back, openly and resolutely, the whole body of the people, to whom it should plainly put the questions: "Do you work all your lives to have given up half your earnings to fund-usurers and dead-weight? Do you wish your children to do the same after you?" Without an appeal like this the thing never can be done; and whence is to come the Minister to make such an appeal? Therefore there is no hope for you; the usurers must go on swallowing up your estates and your stock; they will become owners instead of you; they are such in great part already; other usurers will roll over them in time, or would do if the thing could go on; but the chances are, that the whole system will go to pieces before the usurers will have had time to swallow up the larger estates. At any rate you will get no relief, and strict justice says that you ought to have none.

I am delighted with the manner in which you talk about "PEEL'S BILL," which you call "that lamentable piece of legislation." Why did you not call it so at the time when it was passed? Why did you not join me in protesting against passing it, without reducing the debt at the same time? Why have you waited fifteen years before you complained of it? And why do you now speak of its fatal effects, without observ-



ing that those effects were all foretold by me *before the bill was passed*! This is the great mark of your baseness; you knew very well all about my publications with regard to this bill: you knew it all very well; and yet you were too base even to allude to it. **PEEL'S BILL** (without other measures) was bad enough in itself; it was a blundering, bungling, most mischievous measure; it was invented and passed by a set of fools; those who did it ought to have been ashamed ever to show their faces in Parliament again. But not a tenth part of its demerits are seen until it be known that the authors of it were *fully forewarned of its fatal consequences*. But this you could not mention without allusion at least to me; and therefore you stop short even of doing justice to your own case! Oh, how despicable you are! What mean wretches you are! How worthy you are of all the embarrassments by which you are beset, and of all the ruin that to a certainty awaits you! Base as is the **USURER**, he is better than you: he is a child of Mammon only; you are *that*, and spiteful cowards into the bargain.

Those who speak in your behalf always praise you for your "*peaceable*" behaviour; for your "*patient*" suffering; for your "*loyalty*"; by which latter they mean, that consummate baseness which induces men to stand aloof from every act that has a tendency to uphold the rights of the people. Very true of you. From you never came there a word of complaint against any act of tyranny; from you never came there petition against dungeon bill, gagging bill, or against any of the measures of **PITT**, **CASTLEREAGH**, **SIDMOUTH**, or **PERCEVAL**. On the contrary, you were always ready with your horses, helmets, and sabres, to sally forth to enforce those horrid measures. Nay, there are as many of you now ready with your sabres, to whom the people are compelled to pay about 200,000*l.* a year. What, then, are the people to have any compassion for you? It was you, and you only, that enabled **PITT** to carry on his terrible system. Well, then, cease your howling; you

have your horses, helmets, and sabres: *use them* to get you a *high price* for your corn and your meat; *use them* to make wheat ten shillings a bushel, with gold payments at the Bank. You are "*loyal*"; feed upon your "*loyalty*." What, will "*loyalty*" do nothing for you in this your hour of distress?

You may howl to the Government; the Government *cannot* assist you if it would. I dare say it would if it could, but it *cannot*; and you may howl out your "*loyal*" wailings till you disturb the repose of **JUPITER** and **JUNO** in the midst of their pavilion, without any chance of relief. Did you ever complain of pensions, sinecures, dead-weight, or of any thing clothed with power, or connected with power? Never! You have been bold enough in your railings against the *defenceless labourers*, to whose sweat you have owed your all; you have been insolent and overbearing enough with regard to *them*; but before any thing connected with power, even before a footman or a stable-boy, designated by the livery of "*my lord*," you have stood trembling like caitiffs. And, do you think that any Government is going to care for you? You complain of the "*inhabitants of towns*" for having demanded and obtained redress, while no attention has been paid to you. Why, you have your "*loyalty*," have you not? And you have your horses and helmets and sabres, have you not? Do not these satisfy you? Be "*loyal*" still, and the devil be your comforter!

I now come to your sage remarks as to the **CORN BILL**. This bill was first passed at the instigation of the landowners, in order to ensure them a *high price* for their corn. Their language to the Government was this: "Give us *price* for our produce, and keep on *the taxes*." Very base, very selfish, even very malignant; but still more foolish. The "*great statesman*," **HUSKISSON**, told them that the bill would keep English wheat at eighty shillings a quarter, or ten shillings a bushel. The fools were all mad. I told them so. I told them that no corn bill could keep up the price of corn permanently;

and, in 1822, when not a gallon of foreign wheat had been imported for three years, they found wheat at five shillings a bushel, with their famous corn bill in full force. It is now, on an average of the kingdom, not more than five shillings and tenpence. And, what protection, then, is a corn bill; that is to say, what security for what are called remunerating prices? That experience which is said to make "fools wise," appears to have no effect at all upon you; but, I suppose, the proverb applied only to ordinary fools, and not to fools so very profound as you are.

Your idea that you ought to have legal protection, because the land bears so many burdens from which other property is exempt; that it has to pay road-rates, county-rates, poor-rates, church-rates, and tithes; and that, THEREFORE, it ought to be protected: this idea is quite worthy of you; that is to say, it is a mark of a vulgar and shallow mind, that seizes hold of salient objects, and, without examination of premises, rushes to conclusions. What, then, the consumer of the corn and the meat and the wool, does not, I suppose, repay the farmer all these out-goings? He pays them all out of some secret and miraculous hoard that he has, and gets no more for his corn and other produce than if he had no such out-goings? Verily, it must be the skull of a greedy bull-frog, in which such a thought could have been engendered! What, then, the grocer pays out of his hoard all the taxes on his tea and sugar and soap and tobacco and charges the consumer only what the Chinese and West Indians and Virginians receive! And, I, now: I pay for the Register stamp out of my hoard. Poh! the land bears no burdens more than I bear burdens for my Register: the consumer pays all the cost of the thing consumed. If this were mere folly, it would not signify; but, it is mischievous: it is a false ground to take: it leads one aside from the true ground, which is this, that the taxes take away so large a portion of the earnings and just gains and store of money, which belong to creative and

useful industry, that the latter has been comparatively destitute; that those who live on the taxes swarm throughout the land; that those who work are compelled to work harder and to fare harder for this; and that, thus, all those who labour are worse off than they formerly were. This is the true ground; land-owners, traders, farmers, artisans, labourers, towns, villages, all suffer together: it is not this, that, or the other "class"; all classes suffer alike, and all from the same cause. If all were to see this, and all pull together to obtain redress, the thing would soon be put to rights; but, as this is not to be expected, the convulsion-engendering cause must roll on, producing, as it proceeds, all its natural effects.

### OXFORD DECLARATION.

My readers will recollect, that certain persons of the University of Cambridge petitioned the House of Commons some time ago, to pass a law to enable the university to admit Dissenters to take degrees in the University. There was, indeed, a counter-petition from the same university against this; but a bill was brought in for the purpose of extending this regulation to both universities. The University of Oxford has declared against this, and the following is a copy of their published declaration. I shall, when I have inserted it, make some remarks upon it. It is a matter of great importance, not for the reasons assigned by the parties, but for reasons which they do not assign. It is manifest, that, if the Dissenters (and Catholics) once participate in any of the privileges of the universities, they will (as they ought) soon participate in them all; and, amongst that all is an immense mass of property, now enjoyed exclusively by the clergy of the established church. The following is the DECLARATION.

OXFORD, APRIL 24, 1834.

The undersigned members of the University of Oxford, immediately con-



*needed with the instruction and discipline of the place, make this public declaration of their sentiments concerning the admission of Dissenters among them.*

They wish to state in the first place, that the University of Oxford has always considered religion to be the foundation of all education; and they cannot themselves be parties to any system of instruction, which does not rest upon this foundation.

They also protest against the notion, that religion can be taught on the vague and comprehensive principle of admitting persons of every creed. When they speak of religion, they mean the *doctrines of the Gospel, as revealed in the Bible, and as maintained by the church of Christ in its best and purest times.* They also believe in their consciences, that these doctrines are *held by the church of England, as settled at the period of the Reformation; and as on the one hand they cannot allow these doctrines to be suppressed, so on the other they cannot consent that they should be explained or taught in any way which is not in accordance with the recognised tenets of the established church.*

In thus stating it to be their solemn duty to provide for a *Christian education*, they feel that *uniformity of faith upon essential points is absolutely necessary*; and that the admission of persons who dissent from the church of England would lead to the most disastrous consequences; that it would unsettle the minds of the younger members of the university; would raise up and continue a spirit of controversy which is at present unknown; and would tend to reduce religion to an empty and unmeaning name, or to supplant it by scepticism and infidelity.

They therefore deem it their bounden duty to *Almighty God, and to those committed to their charge*, to continue their present system of religious instruction: and they hereby declare, that it is their determined purpose to the utmost of their power to maintain the same inviolate.

At a meeting of heads of houses and proctors in the delegates' room, May 2, 1834;

A declaration, signed by members of the university "immediately connected with the instruction and discipline of the place," and a subsequent declaration "of approval and concurrence, by others, members of convocation and bachelors of civil law," having been generally circulated, to which heads of houses felt themselves precluded, in point of form only, from attaching their signatures:

We, whose names are underwritten, declare it to be our deliberate and firm opinion, that a bill now before Parliament, "*To remove certain disabilities which prevent some classes of his Majesty's subjects from resorting to the universities of England, and proceeding to degrees therein,*" will, if it pass into a law, violate our legal and prescriptive rights; subvert the system of religious instruction and discipline, so long and so beneficially exercised by us; and, by dissolving the union between the university and the church of England, will impair the efficiency, and endanger the security of both.

George Rowley, D.D., Master of University, and Vice-Chancellor.

Martin Joseph Routh, D.D., President of Magdalen.

George William Hall, D.D., Master of Pembroke.

Henry Foulkes, D.D., Principal of Jesus.

Richard Jenkyns, D.D., Master of Balliol.

John Collyer Jones, D.D., Rector of Exeter.

Ashurst Turner Gilbert, D.D., Principal of Brasen-nose.

Thomas Edward Bridges, D.D., President of Corpus.

Anthony Grayson, D.D., Principal of St. Edmund Hall.

James Ingram, D.D., President of Trinity.

John Fox, D.D., Provost of Queen's.

Edward Hawkins, D.D., Provost of Oriel.

Philip Wynter, D.D., President of St. John's.

John Antony Cramer, D.D., Principal of New Inn Hall.

Thomas Gaisford, D.D., Dean of Ch. Ch.

Benjamin Parson Symons, D.D., Warden of Wadham.

Edward Cardwell, D.D., Principal of St. Alban Hall.

Reen Dickson Hampden, D.D., Principal of St. Mary Hall.

John David Macbride, D.C.L., Principal of Magdalen Hall.

Robert Marsham, D.C.L., Warden of Merton.

James Hardwicke Dyer, M.A., Fellow of Trinity, Senior Proctor.

William Harding, M.A., Fellow of Wadham, Junior Proctor.

Now, Messieurs parsons, in the first place, what "*prescriptive*" rights have you to any thing appertaining to these universities? Prescriptive means independent of *written law*: and all *decisions of courts of law*; and you have no rights not given you by *written law*: yours is a church and religion and worship "*established by LAW*," and standing solely on *acts of Parliament*. You have nothing *prescriptive*; you have no more *prescriptive* right to any thing in the universities than the *Dissenters* have, and you are as much *Dissenters* from the ancient church of England as they are; and, as to the *supremacy*, you are *more* Dissenters than they are.

But, yours is the *true* religion. You believe that the gospel of Christ is the guide to salvation; that that gospel is to be taken according to the interpretation of the church of Christ in the *best of times*; and, "in your consciences" you believe that the church of England, as *settled* at the Reformation, is like that church of Christ in the best of times! Indeed!

Perhaps, it may be as well, since you rely so much upon this *settling*, for me to tell the public, not one out of a thousand of whom knows any thing at all of the matter, and I question whether the greater part of you do, HOW this *settling* took place. Henry the Eighth and his dear boy Edward, having taken

the monasteries, hospitals, and even the charteries and the endowments of the guilds, into their hands by *act of Parliament*, and having distributed this immense mass of property, together with a large part of the tithes, amongst the lay aristocracy, the latter (the dear boy) and his Parliament proceeded to make, by *law*, the present church; proceeded to *settle* the church of Christ; and the manner in which they *settled* it was as follows:

By act of Parliament, second and third Edward VI. chap. I. it was declared, that certain learned and discreet bishops and other learned men of the realm had, "*by the aid of the Holy Ghost*," formed and composed a *Book of Common Prayer*. The act then goes on to order, that nobody shall use any other form of prayer than this, on pain of imprisonment for six months for the first offence, twelve months for the second offence, and *for life* for the third offence. Then there were the same punishments for any who should dare, by mock "*plays, farces, songs, or tunes, deprave the Book of Common Prayer*"!

Thus it was "*settled*"; but not for a long time; for the holy boy died at the end of about five years; not however before he and his Parliaments had passed the most *barbarous*, the most *savage* laws ever then heard of in the world; and this too for the purpose of compelling the unwilling people to submit to this new religion and to use this *Book of Common Prayer*. The people resisted by open force in several places; they complained of the plunder that had been committed on the poor; and a pretty formidable insurrection had broken out in Devonshire. Lord Russell (the founder of the Bedford family) was sent against them with an army of *hired Germans*! He defeated and dispersed, or put them to death; and the priest, who was their leader, *he hanged, in his clerical vestments, on the top of a steeple of one of the churches of Exeter*! This, and the like of this, "*settled*" the thing so far; but whether "*according to the best times of the church of Christ*," I must leave my readers to judge.



Not "*settled*" for a long time however; for Saint Edward's barbarous reign was brought to a close by his death, at the end of about five years. Then came his sister MARY; and then what did the "*settlers*" do? Why, by act of *Parliament* (first and second MARY, chap. VIII.) they ABOLISHED THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, restored the Catholic religion, denominated a HERESY that which they had declared THAT THE HOLY GHOST HAD ASSISTED THEM TO DO, received *pardon* and *absolution* from the POPE, through his legate, CARDINAL POLE, and in the most express manner confessed and condemned the horrible act of conferring *the headship of the church on the crown*; that is to say, *uniting the church with the state*!

Here was another "*settling*," then! But, let the reader bear in mind, that this was the *Parliament*; the same Commons generally; and *certainly the same Lords*; in short, *the very same aristocracy*, who made the book of Common Prayer, and who made this church *by law*. And, let it not be forgotten, that that same Lord RUSSELL, who hanged up the priest in his vestments at Exeter, was one of the most zealous of the servants of Mary!

But, alas! Mary *died* at the end of another five years; and then came the brutally barbarous old Bess, who had lived a Catholic, who would have a Catholic bishop to crown her, but whose title to the crown was, *according to the Catholic religion, not good*, she being born of Ann Bolyen, while Queen Catherine was alive; and who, therefore, *resolved to be a Protestant*, to make the nation Protestant, and to assume the *supremacy of the church*.

"Aye," exclaims the reader, but the *Parliament*, the same aristocracy, the same *noble peers*, did not submit to chop about again, to be sure! To *re-enact* the book of Common Prayer, which they had so lately enacted to be a *heresy*; to enact the *headship of the church to be in the crown*; to beg pardon of the Queen for having pardoned and absolved by the Pope; to cail that religion idolatrous to which they

had so lately and so solemnly vowed fidelity; and to support this impudent, unprincipled and savage woman, in compelling her people to become apostates to the religion of their fathers, or to slaughter them by soldiers, to gibbet them, rack them, and rip them up alive! The noble aristocracy of England did not do this, to be sure! Yes; but THEY DID, though (1 Elizabeth, cap. I. and II.); and they and this woman of bloody deeds, thus, by halters, axe, gibbets, racks, and martial-law, "*settled*" the church of England, at the Reformation." And these Oxford parsons believe "*in their consciences*," that this was a settlement "*according to the best times of the church of Christ*"!

There are other parts of this "*declaration*" well worthy of remark; but I shall confine myself to a word or two, on their being moved, on this occasion, by "*a sense of duty to Almighty God, and to those committed to their charge*." As to the first, I will say nothing; but, as to the second, look at the *pluralities*, look at the *non-residence*, look at the *starving curates*; and then say, what is their sense of duty to those *committed to their charge*? But, the following article will show, that the time for stuff like this is gone by.

### "CHURCH IN DANGER."

A VERY curious and interesting scene has just taken place in London. The DISSENTERS, justly impatient at the sluggish proceedings of the Ministers, and dissatisfied with the *inefficiency*, or rather, *delusiveness*, of their measure relative to Church Reform, are beginning to proclaim an *open breach* with them. In this state of things a *meeting of Dissenters* has been held in London, and Lord DURHAM, son-in-law of Lord GREY, was in the chair! The speeches were many, and very long: too long for me to insert them here; but, the RESOLUTIONS I here insert; and to them I shall add an observation or two. These resolutions should be read with attention; and particularly the *second*.

At the twenty-third annual meeting of "The Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty," held at the City of London Tavern, on 17. of May, 1834,

The Right Hon. the Earl of DURHAM in the Chair;

It was unanimously resolved,

1. That this society, including hundreds of congregations in England and Wales, cherish with unabated regard their attachment to the great principles of religious freedom; and that, neither enervated by past successes, nor appalled by continued opposition, they will persevere in wise and just endeavours to develop their importance, to remove objections, and to promote their progress; till, in their native country, and throughout the world, their triumph shall be universal and complete.

2. That, enlightened by reasoning, and instructed by experience, this society will, again and aloud, proclaim their conviction, that religion will most beneficially flourish where it receives only voluntary support, and that all compulsory and extorted contributions rather stint its growth—deform its loveliness—and embitter its fruit, than assist a blessing essential to social happiness—pre-eminently useful to mankind—and acceptable to God: and that, in the avowal of these sentiments, they would distinctly disclaim, in language most positive, and with sincerity most profound, any design or desire to obtain for themselves the exclusive privileges, or state revenues of existing establishments, which, even if proffered and available, they would reject with disdain.

3. That while this society announce principles whose eventual prevalence will uproot for ever wretched superstitious—persecuting selfishness—tyrannous obtrusion on the rights of conscience—and many an hypocritical abuse—they cannot overlook the peculiar and practical grievances by which the vast body of Dissenters are in this country oppressed: nor can they conceal their utter disappointment and regret that adequate and prompt relief has not been supplied or attempted by an administration to whom they were truly attached—many of whose illustrious members have presided in this room at the meetings of this society, and who have achieved in the good cause of freedom and reform, victories which the present generation gratefully acknowledge, and posterity can never forget.

4. That such disappointment and regret are aggravated by their high expectations from the patriotism and justice of several members of the Government—by their persuasion that a great majority of the Commons' House of Parliament would have supported cheerfully any liberal constitutional proposal—by their loyal reliance on the grace and goodness of a Sovereign, during whose reign parliamentary reform has been bestowed—and by a real confidence that no church or body in the state would, or could, have withheld the reasonable redress of wrongs claimed by millions of the people—if those claims had received from the

Government generous, cordial, and decided support.

5. That this society concur with "The United Committee for the Redress of those Grievances," and to which they belong—and with the multitudes of congregations, and of wise, well-informed, unambitious, peaceful, and holy men, who have urged those grievances on public attention—in a reprobation of the ill-judged Marriage Bill submitted to Parliament; and of the church-rate commutation proposed by Lord Althorp, and which they deem an evil rather than a benefit, and must decline and oppose; and that they instruct their committee, with unslumbering energy, and undiminished perseverance, to make every proper exertion to prevent the success of that measure—to obtain an early abrogation of their grievances, and of all the wrongs that yet annoy and degrade them—and to diffuse throughout all classes of the country accurate knowledge of the principles and utilities of religious freedom, and of the sad and widespread evils which existing abuses create, and which the perfect prevalence of religious freedom alone can correct or destroy.

6. That, though attentive to their own peculiar affairs, this society would not allow them to engross their exclusive attention—but would generally recommend that all the members, as well as the committee, should exert their parliamentary influence to banish intolerance in every form from our eastern empire and colonial possessions—to remove all civil disabilities from the British Jews—to ensure to the hundreds of thousands of emancipated Negroes, the blessings of education and moral and religious knowledge—and earnestly to promote that wise and benevolent appropriation of the tithes of Ireland, which may conciliate her people, may lessen their calamities, and may form an excellent and splendid example for imitation and praise.

7. That the following ministers and gentlemen of different denominations constitute the committee of the society, with power to add to their numbers, and appoint all other officers:

Rev. F. A. Cox, LL.D.  
 Rev. W. B. Collyer, D.D.  
 Rev. George Collison.  
 Rev. Joseph Fletcher, D.D.  
 Rev. Alexander Fletcher, A.M.  
 Rev. Thomas Jackson.  
 Rev. John Lewis.  
 Rev. Thomas Russell, A.M.  
 Rev. John Styles, D.D.  
 Mr. Edward Ashby.  
 J. B. Brown, Esq., LL.D.  
 William Bateman, Esq.  
 James Esdaile, Esq.  
 Martin Prior, Esq.  
 Thomas Wilson, Esq.  
 Matthew Wood, Esq., M.P.  
 John Wilks, Esq., M.P.  
 J. Broadley Wilton, Esq.  
 James Young, Esq.

And that most cordial thanks be presented



to those members of the committee who have heretofore rendered their assistance, for the combination of zeal and prudence they have long and usefully displayed.

8. That this meeting embrace with gladness an opportunity to renew their acknowledgments to John Wilks, Esq., M.P., the Honorary Secretary to this society from its formation, for his continued interest in its welfare, and dedication of his time and talents to its affairs, and especially for his parliamentary exertions to obtain returns of the church-cess, to introduce and pass the act for exempting places of worship from rates, and to bring before the legislature and the country the imperfections and injustice of our parochial registration, of which now the nation as well as Dissenters complain; and that he be assured of the confidence and gratitude which his arduous and useful labours every where and justly excite.

9. That this society discharge with cheerfulness their debt of gratitude to all the members of both Houses of Parliament who have presented their petitions and advocated their cause; but especially would express their obligations to the Right Hon. J. Abercrombie, M.P., Edward Baines, Esq., M.P., H. Lambton, Esq., M.P., E. J. Stanley, Esq., M.P., R. Wason, Esq., M.P., the Right Hon. C. Tennyson, M.P., and any other gentlemen who have favoured them by their attendance at this meeting, and afforded anew a most acceptable pledge, that religious liberty will find always in them consistent and devoted friends.

DURHAM, Chairman.

10. That last, but most willingly, the society express their grateful delight that the Right Hon. the Earl of Durham has presided at this meeting, and they profit eagerly by the occasion to apprise him of the general admiration and attachment he has won, not merely by high rank and eminent talent, but by his exertions in the cause of reform, by the liberal principles he has ever avowed, by his frequent and spontaneous interpositions on behalf of Dissenters, and by the sacrifices he must have made to increase the welfare of the people, and to promote knowledge, freedom, and happiness, throughout the land.

Lord DURHAM did not *peak*, till at the *close*; and, then he let out the *purpose for which he was there*! He besought the *Dissenters* not to press the question of "*separation of church and state*"! In short he was there to coax the Dissenters not to drive the Ministers to the wall on this *vital* point! His *reasoning* in favour of *church and state* was unworthy of the name. It proceeded upon *false ground*. It was *childish*; and it could mislead nobody; and, it would not have had even this

much of notice from me, had it not contained one passage, truly characteristic of a WHIG; that is to say, at once *stupid* and *spiteful*. This passage is worthy of my notice; and the next Register shall contain a *letter from me* to this haughty and very spiteful person. I will see whether I cannot beat into his head what "*church and state*" means, of which he seems to have, at present, but a very rude notion.

In the mean while do let us hear what that poor old devil, the CHRONICLE, has to say upon the subject. If I could have doubted before, this old soul would have removed my doubt, that it was CONTRIVED to get Lord Durham to this meeting, in order to coax the Dissenters *not to push the Ministers*. Pray, reader, do go through the old soul's article, and laugh with me to see how he is *puzzled*. Pay attention to the words that I have marked by *italics*.

"The annual meeting of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty,—an old association of Metropolitan Dissenters,—was held at the City of London Tavern, on Saturday. Lord DURHAM presided. The proceedings of the meeting were, under present circumstances, highly important. Several distinguished members of the House of Commons, and many Dissenting deputies attended. The resolutions passed on this occasion were *practical*, decisive, and moderate; and we do not doubt that the sentiments expressed by several gentlemen who addressed the numerous and respectable assemblage present, will have great influence in the country. We have already sufficiently expressed our deep regret that Ministers had not proposed cabinet measures of adequate redress of the remaining grievances of the Dissenters; but the attitude of the Dissenters,—their acknowledged and formidable power,—and the discussions in Parliament must secure them full relief in the next session. In the meanwhile, excepting on the question of church-rates, Ministers have explicitly admitted the claims of the Dis-

"sents. The University Bill of Mr.  
 "GEORGE WILLIAM WOOD, and the  
 "Parochial Registration Bill of Mr.  
 "WILLIAM BROUGHAM, are now before  
 "Parliament. We therefore hope that  
 "the Dissenters will, for the present,  
 "rest on their original *practical de-*  
 "*mands*, and content themselves with  
 "their declaratory opinions on the im-  
 "portant and critical question of the *al-*  
 "*liance between church and state*. Of  
 "the truth of the great principle of Pro-  
 "testant dissent, that the connexion  
 "between religion and the civil power  
 "is inconsistent with Christianity, few  
 "enlightened persons can entertain a  
 "doubt. But in this country a church  
 "establishment is *interwoven with the*  
 "*whole frame-work of society*. The  
 "separation of church and state in-  
 "volves prejudice and difficulties of no  
 "common magnitude. *Public opinion*  
 "*is not ripe* for any practical project,  
 "however useful the discussion of the  
 "subject; and indeed no substantial  
 "proposition has been brought forward  
 "for the *practical severance of the*  
 "*church from its state connexion*. A  
 "premature and impolitic demand by  
 "the Dissenters would inevitably lead  
 "to divisions and schisms among them-  
 "selves,—it would much retard that  
 "reformation of *the abuses of the church*  
 "which must *precede its separation*  
 "*from the state*,—it might politically  
 "sever the Dissenters from political  
 "union with the liberal portion of the  
 "church laity, and it would unques-  
 "tionably tend to *strengthen the church*  
 "at a moment when important measures  
 "are pending for the practical abolition  
 "of many grievous abuses. This de-  
 "cided expression of our opinion *may*  
 "*be unpopular* with some part of the  
 "Dissenters and possibly misinter-  
 "preted; but we know that we speak  
 "the calm opinions of numerous and  
 "influential classes of their body, and  
 "we should disclaim to purchase their  
 "good-will at *the expense of their best*  
 "*interests*. Lord DURHAM, with his  
 "*characteristic integrity and moral*  
 "*courage*, enforced on Saturday similar  
 "sentiments; and at the same time  
 "that his Lordship exposed himself to  
 "Tory obloquy and the calumnies of  
 "the High Church party by presiding  
 "at the meeting, he honourably coun-  
 "selled the Dissenters, and boldly stated  
 "his views of their real policy. We  
 "think his arguments on the inexpedi-  
 "ency of raising the question of separa-  
 "tion *unanswerable*, and they come with  
 "peculiar force from a nobleman who  
 "so eminently possesses the confidence  
 "of the Reformers, and whose devotion  
 "to the cause of civil freedom cannot  
 "be suspected. IF the Dissenters can  
 "wholly remove their civil disabilities,  
 "and secure equal civil rights for all  
 "practical purposes,—IF *the abomina-*  
 "*tions of the tithe system of England*  
 "*and Wales can be destroyed*,—IF *plu-*  
 "*ralities and non-residence can be*  
 "*abolished*,—*the bishoprics reduced and*  
 "*equalized*,—*the Spiritual Lords re-*  
 "*lieved from the burden of their legis-*  
 "*lative duties*,—*the surplus revenues of*  
 "*the establishment in England and Ire-*  
 "*land be appropriated to useful na-*  
 "*tional objects*,—IF *the working clergy*  
 "*become liberalised, and more efficient*  
 "*in their sacred calling*, much will be  
 "achieved, and the time will come  
 "when religion may be *relieved from*  
 "*the encumbrance of its state alliance*.  
 "Education and knowledge, however,  
 "must be more diffused and perfected,  
 "and many political changes be effected,  
 "before the hierarchy will give way.  
 "If, however, the clergy and the House  
 "of Lords oppose themselves to the  
 "spirit of the age, very few years will  
 "elapse before the complete subversion  
 "of the church establishment. The  
 "state clergy must begin to discern *that*  
 "*they are not essential* to the support  
 "of religion and morality, that the  
 "voluntary principle of Protestant dis-  
 "sent can supply their places, and that  
 "an obstinate adherence to abuses has  
 "brought to a timely end every church  
 "establishment in christendom. If  
 "the Church falls it will be from its  
 "own weaknesses. We perceive that  
 "the old alarmists are at work; the  
 "cry of "Church in danger" may  
 "amuse the parsons, but will no longer  
 "impose on the country, or influence a  
 "reformed House of Commons. These



"are not times in which fanatic peers  
"or interested ecclesiastics can delude  
"the people with false pretences. No  
"administration which will not apply  
"itself boldly to church reform can  
"endure six months."

Well, now, what shall I say about this? It really is *so good*, that I know not what to say. It goes so much *farther* than I ever went, and calls itself "*moderate*" too! Bishops to be put out of the House of Lords! Ah! it will *all be*, as sure as this is paper upon which I am writing! The parsons, who used to take up men, and send them to jail, in 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820, *for selling my Register*, will now have *something else to do*! They will now taste the fruits of the war, which they urged on for twenty-two years, against "Jacobins and levellers." It is the *DEBT* that works them: the money-monster is gaping for their *temporalities*; and, *therefore*, the Dissenters are formidable.

Certainly "no Ministry can stand," as the old soul says, who will not apply themselves boldly to church *reform*; and that means taking away the *lands*, and *houses* and *tithes* from the church; and, what a *fool* any man, who wishes to remain a Minister, must be, not to do it at once! "*TORIES*!" what can Tories, or what can any body do, when the *whole nation* (for so it is) is bent upon doing the thing? However, here is enough at present: I must say more in my letter to Lord DURHAM, who does not seem to perceive, that the Dissenters flatly *deny all the premises*, from which he draws his conclusions. I should not dare to comment on a speech of this man, if made in "*another place*"; but, finding him at a *tavern*, I shall make rather free with him.

### NEW POOR-LAW.

THE accompanying letter was sent to the *Morning Chronicle* on Saturday last, and refused insertion, on the ground "that it contained no points." If Mr. Cobbett thinks that there are points

enough in the letter to indicate that there is a difference between the supporters of the Anglo-Saxon institutions, and those who deny that our forefathers had any institutions worth preserving, he will perhaps give it insertion in the *Register*.

G. R.

To Mr. Cobbett, M. P.

(To the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*).

SIR,—In your leading article of this morning, you have chosen to volunteer an opinion respecting the effect that the conduct of Colonel Evans and Sir Samuel Whalley, in opposing, and that of Mr. Grote and Mr. Clay, in supporting, the "Poor-Law Amendment Bill," may produce on the minds of their constituents, and you venture to express your firm conviction that the two former will not gain, or the two latter lose, the support of a single vote, by the line they are taking on this question.

I do not know that it is within the legitimate province of an editor of a newspaper to influence members of Parliament by this sort of assertion, but I do know that if the editor, who attempts it, has not formed a very correct opinion, he may lead a representative to very erroneous conclusions; and I am satisfied that, in this instance, you are in error. My acquaintance with reformers of all sorts, is pretty extensive, and I am morally certain that the old Radicals will never again vote for those who have given their support to this bill, be their pretensions in other respects what they may.

The truth is, that this bill is "worm-wood and gall" to the old Radicals, who, to a man, are supporters of the ancient constitutional self-government of the people in all local matters. They view this bill as another "giant step" towards the introduction of Austrian despotic centralization, and they abhor it accordingly.

I am well aware that the measure has the support of the political economists, or (as they call themselves) philosophical Radicals; but these gentlemen have by no means the influence that they flatter themselves they have. They may con-

tinue to talk loudly and imposingly of their love of "universal suffrage," the "ballot," and other catch words of the party; they may toast "republicanism" at their orgies, till their heads ache; but when it comes to the trial they will find that their sharp and shallow theories will weigh but little with those who have read our ancient constitution with Sir William Jones, John Cartwright, and William Cobbett.

If the Lords allow the *Doctrinaires* by this measure to set at nought the ancient right of the people to local self-government, let them not expect to escape the deadly hatred which those gentlemen have to hereditary distinction. Let them bear in mind that the *doctrinaires* are the tools of the wealthy capitalists, and that the object of both parties is to swamp the titles and the land of the aristocracy, and suck up the blood and labour of the many, by erecting a sort of monied oligarchy, which they will ludicrously enough call a republic. Now! now is the time to stop them; the re-action is come; the mass of the people are alive to the deception which has been effected by the tax-paying clauses in the Reform Act. The composition of the present House of Commons is estimated at its precise value. Let the Lords declare for the ancient national and local rights of industry, for open and responsible corporations, for open and equal vestries, for the ancient watch and ward; and secure their own station in the state, by throwing out the accursed poor-law project, and the dirty shuffling Whigs along with it.

I am, Sir,  
your obedient servant,  
G. W. ROGERS.

High-street, St. Giles's,  
May 16, 1834

#### GREAT COUNTY TITHE MEETING AT BARHAM DOWNS, ON MONDAY.

(From a Second Edition of the Maidstone Gazette.)

PURSUANT to a requisition to the High Sheriff of Kent, numerous and

respectably signed, a county meeting, for the eastern division of Kent, was held yesterday (Monday), at Barham Downs, near Canterbury. It was very numerous attended by the yeomanry and principal agriculturists; it was computed to the number of 3,000. Most of the county gentlemen were present, as well as the two members for the eastern division of Kent. About half-past twelve, the High Sheriff having opened the proceedings by stating the object of the meeting, and hoping that a patient hearing would be given to all parties on this occasion,

Sir HENRY MONTRESOR, in a brief address, stated that he would present a petition for the acceptance of the meeting, having for its object the settlement of the tithe question, on fair and equitable principles.

EDWARD RICE, Esq., in seconding the petition, entered at considerable length into the details of Lord Althorp's bill, the main principles of which met with his concurrence, but there were some details which he considered required amendment. He particularly specified the clause relating to the average rate of tithes as respected the county districts. He would propose that an average of the whole amount, for all the counties of England, should be taken. At present, as Kent paid the highest rate, it would be more heavily tithed than other counties.

The petition, embodying these sentiments, was then read by the High Sheriff; and it was about to be put to the show of hands, when

Sir WILLIAM COSWAY rose and said, that as he agreed in the principle of the bill, which went to take the burden of tithes from the occupier and place it on the landowner, he would not move an amendment on Mr. Rice's proposition, but he thought that the twenty-five years' purchase was too high a ratio, and instead of that he would prefer to see substituted twenty years' purchase for the redemption. He would also require that no tithe should be paid where there was no resident minister, and he would compel every resident minister to support a school for the education of



the poor. The septennial revaluation he was altogether opposed to. He understood that the petition now proposed emanated from a portion of the East Kent Agricultural Union. (A laugh). He begged pardon, Association he meant. (Cries of "It is a Union"). He understood from the public papers, that a schism had arisen in the association (a voice, "Union"); a portion had resolved on the petition now read, and he wished to hear the objections, if any, which the other portion (the high Tory party) had to the petition or to the bill. (A pause). He was sorry that these gentlemen would not state their objection.

Mr. RICE said he did not now belong to the association, and that the petition was not to be understood as coming from that body.

EDWARD HUGHES, Esq., of Smeeth House, then rose and said, that he did not consider the bill of Lord Althorp, even with the amendments proposed by Mr. Rice, would afford sufficient relief to the agriculturists. (Loud cries of hear, hear). He said that the skill, capital, and the industry of the farmer would still be too highly taxed—that the tithe would still exist as a burden. (Cries of, It will). It was not the original intention of tithes, that the tenth of the produce raised by modern improvements, and by the application of capital, should go for the sole support of the ministers of the church. He was a warm friend to the spiritual doctrines of the church, and he would rather, to use the emphatic words of the scriptures, that "his tongue should cleave for ever to the roof of his mouth," than that he should say any thing against the religion of his country. But the question of church emoluments was entirely distinct. (Hear, hear, bravo) He considered that the commutations proposed would leave far too much wealth in the possession of the church, and that they would not operate to relieve the land efficiently. He was himself a practical agriculturist, and he would speak on this point with a certain knowledge of the question. (Loud cries of hear, hear). He considered

that a tenth of the rental of lands, instead of a tenth of produce, was amply sufficient for the church; it was dealing liberally with the church, to put it in the situation of tenth joint-proprietor of the land. (Cheers). He reminded the meeting that a similar proposition had been carried almost by acclamation at a great county meeting held in Devonshire. (Cheers). He was sure that if Devonshire, which was tithed less heavily, required such relief, much more did Kent. (Applause). Mr. Hughes concluded by moving the following resolution, as the basis of a petition to be founded thereon:

Resolved — "That instead of the commutation proposed by the bill now before the lower House of Parliament, this meeting is of opinion that a levy of two shillings in the pound, on the bona fide annual rents, in lieu of, and in substitution for, the tenth of the produce of the soil, which includes the farmer's capital, skill, and industry, would be a more equitable remuneration for tithes, simple in its construction, easy of collection, and more likely to ameliorate the conduct of those interested in agriculture, than the complicated plans proposed for that purpose."

The petition was as follows:

"To the honourable the Lords spiritual and temporal of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled;

"Humbly sheweth,

"That your petitioners have long laboured under the evils inflicted by the tithe-system, as at present established, which, operating as a grievous tax upon skill, industry, and capital, has, in addition to other burdens, caused a weight of distress upon the agriculturists, altogether insupportable, and which imperatively calls for prompt and efficacious relief. That your petitioners having fully considered the difficulties attending a commutation or redemption of the tithe, have come to the conclusion, that the most eligible, the easiest, and most satisfactory plan would be, to substitute for that impost a payment of two shillings in the pound sterling on the rental of land, conceiving that a tithe of the rental in lieu of a tithe of the produce

would be amply sufficient for the support of the church establishment, which is now possessed of most unscriptural and injurious superfluity of wealth and emoluments.

"Your petitioners therefore pray that your honourable House will forthwith proceed to abolish the present system of tithe, and substitute for it the payment herein proposed.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

The petition to the Commons was entirely similar.

The resolution was seconded by James Fife, Esq., of Harbledown, who said that he fully concurred in the views of the mover. (Applause). The bill and the alterations, proposed by Mr. Rice, were complicated, and would not effectually take off the burden from agriculture. By Mr. Hughes' proposition the church would still possess ample revenues. (Cheers). The resolution was then put to a show of hands, and carried by a large majority.

Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL, M.P., rose with some warmth to express his astonishment that such a proposal should have been entertained favourably by the meeting. (A laugh). He did not think that the meeting understood what they had voted for. (Uproar and hisses.)

Mr. HUGHES expressed his willingness to have the question again put to the meeting, which, after some further altercation, was accordingly done, and carried in the affirmative by a yet larger majority.

Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL again declared that he could not, and would not, support the petition. (Disapprobation).

GEORGE GIRPS, Esq. (a large tithe-owner), with considerable asperity, commented on the proposition of Mr. Hughes, but encountered great disapprobation from the meeting. He would insist on it that the petition founded on the resolution should be also put, that he might hold up his hand against it. An attempt was here apparently made by the Tory party and the original petitioners to prevent the petition of Mr. Hughes from being signed by the High Sheriff, when Sir William Cosway rose,

and said though he was not favourable to that petition, he would insist on fair play towards the meeting. (Bravo, and loud cheers). The resolution had been fairly put; it had even been twice put: there was no mistake; such was the decision of the meeting. He was sorry to see something like a trick attempted by the gentlemen in the wagons on his left (occupied by the Tory party and Mr. Rice's friends). (Bravo).

Alderman COOPER rose, and with great animation commented on the conduct of Sir Edward Knatchbull, and some other gentlemen. He said that the freeholders of Kent had been grossly insulted by him and them. (Loud and continued cheering). The meeting had fully discussed and fairly decided the question. The trick that was attempted was infamous. (Cheers and uproar).

Mr. RICE explained, and the High Sheriff put the petition, founded on the resolution of Mr. Hughes, to the show of hands.

It was carried amid loud acclamations by a yet larger majority than either of the previous showings on the resolution.

It was next moved that the petition to the House of Peers should be presented by Lord Sondes, and that to the House of Commons by the members for the eastern division of Kent.

Sir Edward Knatchbull was understood to say that he was opposed to Lord Althorp's bill, but still more so to the present petition. (Disapprobation). He would present, but could not support it.

J. B. PLUMPTRE, Esq., said that he thought the meeting would have had greater confidence in the Ministry and reform Parliament. (Uproar, cries of Not half reformed; a pretty set). He was always willing to promote the interests of his constituents, but he could not support the petition of the present meeting. (Cries of Resign, resign; you want to represent yourself").

The High SHERIFF stated that the petition was indisputably carried, and declared that the meeting was dissolved.



Very great interest was felt on this occasion, it being the first county meeting ever held in East Kent; and much disappointment seems to be felt by the aristocracy at the proceedings. They are endeavouring to get up private petitions among the tenantry under their influence.

### PRESIDENT JACKSON.

I INSERT below a portion of this great man's PROTEST against the vote of the Senate. The whole of the protest is an unanswerable defence of the conduct which he has pursued with regard to the monster of paper-money. I take the conclusion of it from the *New York Evening Post*.

The dangerous tendency of the doctrine which denies to the President the power of supervising, directing, and removing the secretary of the treasury, in like manner with the other executive officers, would soon be manifest in practice, were the doctrine to be established. The President is the direct representative of the American people, but the secretaries are not. If the secretary of the treasury be independent of the President in the execution of the laws, then is there no direct responsibility to the people in that important branch of this Government, to which is committed the care of the national finances. And it is in the power of the Bank of the United States, or any other corporation, body of men or individuals, if a secretary shall be found to accord with them in opinion, or can be induced in practice to promote their views, to control, through him, the whole action of the Government, (so far as it is exercised by his department), in defiance of the chief magistrate, elected by the people, and responsible to them.

But the evil tendency of the particular doctrine adverted to, though sufficiently serious, would be as nothing in comparison with the pernicious consequences which would inevitably flow from the approbation and allowance by the people, and the practice by the Se-

nate of the unconstitutional power of arraigning and censuring the official conduct of the executive, in the manner recently pursued. Such proceedings are eminently calculated to unsettle the foundation of the Government; to disturb the harmonious action of its different departments; and to break down the checks and balances by which the wisdom of its framers sought to ensure its stability and usefulness.

The honest differences of opinion which occasionally exist between the Senate, in regard to matters in which both are obliged to participate, are sufficiently embarrassing. But if the course recently adopted by the Senate shall hereafter be frequently pursued, it is not only obvious that the harmony of the relations between the President and the Senate will be destroyed, but that other and graver effects will ultimately issue. If the censures of the Senate be submitted to by the President, the confidence of the people in his ability and virtue, and the character and usefulness of his administration, will soon be at an end, and the real power of the Government will fall into the hands of a body, holding their offices for long terms, not elected by the people, and not to them directly responsible. If, on the other hand, the illegal censures of the Senate should be resisted by the President, collisions and angry controversies might ensue, discreditable in their progress, and in the end compelling the people to adopt the conclusion, either that their chief magistrate was unworthy of their respect, or that the Senate was chargeable with calumny and injustice. Either of these results would impair public confidence in the perfection of the system, and lead to serious alterations of its frame work, or to the practical abandonment of some of its provisions.

The influence of such proceedings on the other departments of the Government, and more especially on the States, could not fail to be extensively pernicious. When the judges in the last resort of official misconduct, themselves overleap the bounds of their authority, as prescribed by the constitution, what

general disregard of its provisions might not their example be expected to produce? And who does not perceive that such contempt of the federal constitution, by one of its most important departments, would hold out the strongest temptation to resistance on the part of the State sovereignties, whenever they shall suppose their just rights to have been invaded? Thus all the independent departments of the Government, and the States which compose our confederated union, instead of attending to their appropriate duties, and leaving those who may offend to be reclaimed or punished in the manner pointed out in the constitution, would fall to mutual crimination and recrimination, and give to the people, confusion and anarchy, instead of order and law; until at length some form of aristocratic power would be established on the ruins of the constitution, or the States be broken into separate communities.

Far be it from me to charge, or to insinuate, that the present Senate of the United States in the most distant way, to encourage such a result. It is not of their motives or designs, but only of the tendency of their acts, that it is my duty to speak. It is, if possible, to make senators themselves sensible of the danger which lurks under the precedent set in their resolution: and at any rate to perform my duty, as the responsible head of one of the co-equal departments of the Government, that I have been compelled to point out the consequences to which the discussion and passage of the resolution may lead, if the tendency of the measure be not checked in its inception.

It is due to the high trust with which I have been charged; to those who may be called to succeed me in it; - to the representatives of the people, whose constitutional prerogative has been unlawfully assumed to the people and to the States, and to the constitution they have established; that I should not permit its provisions to be broken down by such an attack on the executive department, without at least some effort "to preserve, protect, and defend" them. With this view, and for the reasons

which have been stated, I do hereby SOLEMNLY PROTEST against the aforementioned proceedings of the Senate; as unauthorized by the constitution; contrary to its spirit and to several of its express provisions; subversive of that distribution of the powers of government which it has ordained and established; destructive of the checks and safeguards by which those powers were intended; on the one hand to be controlled, and on the other to be protected; and calculated by their immediate and collateral effects, by their character and tendency, to concentrate in the hands of a body not directly amenable to the people, a degree of influence and power dangerous to their liberties, and fatal to the constitution of their choice.

The resolution of the Senate contains an imputation upon my private as well as upon my public character; and as it must stand for ever on their journals I cannot close this substitute for that defence which I have not been allowed to present in the ordinary form, without remarking, that I have lived in vain, if it be necessary to enter into a formal vindication of my character and purposes from such an imputation. In vain do I bear upon my person, enduring memorials of that contest in which American liberty was purchased; in vain have I since periled property, fame, and life, in defence of the rights and privileges so dearly bought; in vain am I now, without a personal aspiration, or the hope of individual advantage, encountering responsibilities and dangers, from which, by mere inactivity in relation to a single point, I might have been exempt. If any serious doubts can be entertained as to the purity of my purposes and motives. If I had been ambitious, I should have sought an alliance with that powerful institution, which even now aspires to no divided empire. If I had been venal, I should have sold myself to its designs; had I preferred personal comfort and official ease to the performance of my arduous duty, I should have ceased to molest it. In the history of conquerors and usurpers, never, in the fire of youth, nor in the vigour of manhood, could



I find an attraction to lure me from the path of duty; and now I shall scarcely find an inducement to commence their career of ambition, when gray hairs and a decaying frame instead of inviting to toil and battle, call me to the contemplation of other worlds, where conquerors cease to be honoured, and usurpers expiate their crimes. The only ambition I can feel is to acquit myself to Him to whom I must soon render an account of my stewardship, to serve my fellow-men, and live respected and honoured in the history of my country. No; the ambition which leads me on is an anxious desire and a fixed determination to return to the people unimpaired the sacred trust they have confided to my charge; to heal the wounds of the constitution and preserve it from further violation; to persuade my countrymen, so far as I may, that it is not in a splendid government, supported by powerful monopolies and aristocratical establishments, that they will find happiness, or their liberties protection; but in a plain system, void of pomp, protecting all, and granting favours to none; dispensing its blessings like the dews of heaven, unseen and unfelt, save in the freshness and beauty they contribute to produce. It is such a Government that the genius of our people requires, such an one only under which our States may remain for ages to come, united, prosperous and free. If the Almighty Being who has hitherto sustained and protected me, will but vouchsafe to make my feeble powers instrumental to such a result, I shall anticipate with pleasure the place to be assigned me in the history of my country, and die contented with the belief that I have contributed, in some small degree, to increase the value and prolong the duration of American liberty.

To the end that the resolution of the Senate may not be hereafter drawn into precedent, with the authority of silent acquiescence on the part of the executive department; and to the end, also, that my motives and views in the executive proceedings denounced in that resolution, may be known to my fellow-citizens, to the world, and to all posterity, I respectfully request that this

message and protest may be entered at length on the journals of the Senate.

ANDREW JACKSON.

April 15, 1834.

CONGRESS, MONDAY, APRIL 21. — In the Senate the following message explanatory of the protest transmitted on the 27. instant, was received from the President of the United States, and read. To the Senate of the United States:

Having reason to believe that certain passages contained in my message and protest transmitted to the Senate on the 17. instant, may be misunderstood, I think it proper to state, that it was not my intention to deny in the said message, the power and right of the legislative department, to provide by law for the custody, safe keeping, and disposition of the public money and property of the United States.

Although I am well satisfied that such a construction is not warranted by any thing contained in that message, yet aware, from experience, that detached passages of an argumentative document, when disconnected from their context, and considered without reference to previous limitations, and the particular positions they were intended to refute or to establish, may be made to bear a construction, varying altogether from the sentiments really entertained and intended to be expressed; and deeply solicitous that my views on this point, should not, either now or hereafter be misapprehended, I have deemed it due to the gravity of the subject, to the great interests it involves, and to the Senate, as well as to myself, to embrace the earliest opportunity to make this communication.

I admit, without reserve, as I have before done, the constitutional power of the Legislature to prescribe, by law, the place or places in which the public money or other property is to be deposited, and to make such regulations concerning its custody, removal, or disposition, as they may think proper to enact. Nor do I claim for the executive any right to the possession or disposition of the public property or treasure, or any authority to interfere with

the same, except when such possession, disposition, or authority, is given to him by law. Nor do I claim the right in any manner to supervise or interfere with the person intrusted with such property or treasure, unless he be an officer whose appointment is, under the constitution and laws, devolved upon upon the President, alone, or in conjunction with the Senate, and for whose conduct he is constitutionally responsible.

As the message and protest referred to may appear on the journals of the Senate, and remain among the recorded documents of the nation, I am unwilling that opinions should be imputed to me, even through misconstruction, which I do not entertain, and more particularly am I solicitous that I may not be supposed to claim for myself, or my successors, any power or authority not clearly granted to the President by the constitution and laws. I have therefore respectfully to request that this communication may be considered a part of that message; and that it may be entered therewith on the journals of the Senate.

ANDREW JACKSON.

21. April, 1834.

Mr. Poindexter moved to lay this message on the table; and added that he would send to the chair certain resolutions as a modification of his original motion that the message containing the protest be not received.

## BRIEF REVIEW OF GENERAL JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

(From the Globe.)

The friends of democratic principles had seen, with much regret, during the administrations of Mr. Monroe, and especially of Mr. Adams, various departures from the doctrines and practices of Mr. Jefferson.

Many measures could be enumerated, the tendency of which, they feared, was to turn the vessel of state from her republican tack; and they resolved, by an united and vigorous effort, to place in the executive chair, a man whose devotion, even in boyhood, to the support of

the revolution, whose sacrifices and sufferings in mature age, to shield our wives and children from the Indian scalping-knife, and our cities from British conflagration, gave pledges enough of love to his country; and whose able discharge of civil duties, on the bench and in the Senate, had made manifest a powerful intellect, and developed principles dear to the democracy of the union.

They trusted in these, and not in blustering promises. They confided in what his life and his deeds had pledged; and not in words. Let us see if they have been deceived.

What have been the leading features of General Jackson's administration at home? what abroad?

For these, we will look to history and legislative records; to important measures and mathematical facts, and not to the denunciations of hireling brawlers, or to the heated declamation and general abuse of virulent politicians.

First, at home, it will be found that in the construction of the constitution he has strenuously endeavoured to bring back the administration to what it was under Mr. Jefferson, by disclaiming enlarged and doubtful powers, and attempting to enforce the views, which chiefly distinguished the fathers of the democratic faith. Hence his veto on the Maysville road bill, checking that broad grasp of power and extravagant waste of the public money, which for some years had been insidiously destroying some of the most striking landmarks between the old division of parties. His veto on the Bank was another bold and honest effort to recall the administration at home to the path of safety and of the constitution, as expounded by Jefferson and Clinton. His uniform and useful recommendations to exercise the protecting power, conferred under the constitution, in collecting taxes and regulating commerce, so as to give due encouragement to important manufactures, without neglect of the interests of agriculture and commerce, have done more to pacify conflicting claims and rival pretensions for legislative aid, than the ultra partisans of either side are willing,



or are expected, ever to admit; but which the calm good sense of the majority of his countrymen have duly appreciated, and which posterity will admire as much as his bravery and prudence in the tented field. It was, in fact, he who stayed the storm; he whose influence reconciled the din of war between the opposing forces of free trade on the one hand, and high protection on the other; and who, by his coolness and firmness, successfully urged them to a course, on this subject, in perfect accordance with the condition of the country as to revenue, and a fair construction of the constitutional powers conferred on the general Government. The eventual settlement of the tariff question, in a form somewhat different and embarrassing, was still a settlement, which in its spirit, met his approbation, and will tend, it is hoped, to perpetuate that union, to the preservation of which, he has contributed so largely.

The second great feature in his policy at home has been the security of that union. This has been effected by seeking to remove just cause of complaint on the part of several of the States: of Georgia, as to the removal of the Indians; of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Alabama, as to the extinguishment of Indian titles, so as to open the new lands within their limits to new settlers; and of all the south in respect to the unequal operation of the old tariff. These were great acts of policy in relation to the harmony of the union, independent of his proclamation and other measures to suppress nullification and insurrection, and which stand out in bold relief, and have a permanent influence upon the great relations of our happy confederacy. His course in respect to the reduction of the price of our public lands, is another of those important measures of general policy at home, possessing a strong bearing on the strength and harmony of the union. It is not holiday professions for the union, but a series and system of measures calculated to increase its beneficent influence, and evince its powerful agency in the preservation of public liberty and legitimate state rights, which shows a true attach-

ment, and exercises an abiding power over its future destinies.

In the third place, General Jackson appears to have distinguished his administration by efforts to promote strict accountability—to punish all kinds of official delinquency—to exact a rigid economy in the appropriation and disbursement of the public money, and thus seasonably to discharge the whole of the public debt. New guards against speculation have been introduced—detected defaulters have been dismissed—and an exorbitant system of allowances, in many cases either reduced or abolished. Notwithstanding the grave assertions as to the large expenditures under this administration, compared with that of his predecessor, and the eloquent invectives which even the Senate have listened to on this subject—yet our legislative records disclose a few unvarnished facts on this subject, worthy of some notice, and of long remembrance.

The whole expenditures during Mr. Adam's administration were, it is true, 16,219,338 dollars less than those during General Jackson's first term of office. This has been sounded far and wide, in speeches and newspapers, as an evidence of General Jackson's extravagance, and disregard of the principles of economy and retrenchment he has always professed.

Yet, in looking at the details, it is seen that 12,430,780 dollars of the above sum consist in an excess of money, which he has paid beyond Mr. Adams, in discharge of the national debt! Thus three-fourths of this monstrous extravagance vanishes at once, in relieving the public burdens, by carrying out, as rapidly as possible, the democratic principle of freeing the people from debt and taxation.

Hence, by this high misdemeanor of General Jackson, the farmer can now get his salt at a duty of 10 instead of 20 cents per bushel; his coffee at a duty of 2 instead of 5 cents per pound; his tea free, instead of 20 or 100 cents per pound; his molasses at half the former impost per gallon; his sugar and wine at a reduced rate; and many of the other

necessaries, as well as most of the comforts of life, at a much lower duty, or entirely exonerated from any tax whatever.

But in what reckless scheme has he squandered the other four millions difference?

The sum of 4,623,823 dollars more than Mr. Adams he has expended, under the sanction of Congress, under the head of fortifications, arsenals, &c., State claims during the late war, Indian titles, treaties, and pensions.

These include over half a million to Massachusetts herself, and South Carolina, both now violently attacking him through their senators. Large sums for fulfilling Mr. Jefferson's own contract with the western States for the extension of the Cumberland road; and much more for extinguishing Indian titles, and rewarding the decrepit soldiers of the revolution. Recollect, also, that a large part of these measures was of a permanent character, many of them were commenced under former administrations, all of them were approved by both Houses of Congress, and very few of them originated, or were recommended, by the executive, except those in relation to the Indians, and which last have been the means of throwing new lands into market, that will, in due time, remunerate the treasury more than the whole difference of four or five millions.

Here we might, under the head of economy and extravagance, stop in triumph, having shown that the debt paid, and the lands purchased, alone exceed in value the whole difference. But as the opposition has invited and provoked the comparison between the expenditures of the two administrations, we will proceed to state, that on an analysis, it appears that General Jackson, during the above term, expended, under the head of foreign intercourse, 1,139,922 dollars less than Mr. Adams, and under the head of the navy, 1,089,922 dollars less. These expenditures generally depend upon estimates made by the administration, and the appropriations in the main conform to them, and for those the administration is responsi-

ble; and here the contrast is striking. But for expenditures under the miscellaneous head, for instance, it is Congress that is chiefly answerable; they seldom depend on executive recommendation or official estimates, and their excess in one or other administration, is no test of the policy of the President.

But the moment we reach items that emanate from the administration, we find a retrenchment by General Jackson of more than two millions. We find likewise what is of equal moment, and what constitutes a prominent characteristic in his administration abroad, that it has been infinitely more efficient than any which preceded it, although its expenses, connected with that head, have been so much reduced.

Our foreign Ministers have succeeded at every foreign court, in obtaining indemnity for great and long-standing injuries; our agents have visited new courts and formed new and important treaties of commerce with both old and new powers; and our citizens and commerce in the remotest quarters of the world have had the shield of the navy flung over them, and aggressions averted or avenged. Our character has become more widely known and respected. More than eight millions of dollars have been added and recovered to our national capital. The hearts of numberless widows and orphans, as well as of suffering merchants who have survived their misfortunes, have been cheered, though late, and the remainder of their pilgrimage here rendered more smooth and joyous.

We have not only avowed, but acted as if it would hereafter be a national characteristic with Americans, never to submit to wrong, or to demand what was not right.

Not a single claim of importance on any foreign nation now remains unadjusted. This unparalleled position of our happy union, as well as its entire freedom from public debt, will mark this era in the future history of the country.

Nor will it tell any better in the history of the opposition hereafter than it



does now, that they threaten him with invective, though he has accomplished this fortunate result abroad with a diminished expenditure, and has shown no extravagance in his policy at home, except in paying fourteen millions more than his predecessor within the same length of time, towards the discharge of our once burdensome debt.

We think that the occurrences of the last few days have pretty clearly demonstrated that the contest we have just passed through has been a contest of the rich against the poor. No man who does not wilfully shut his eyes to the truth, which is as broad and palpable as the sun at midday, can help seeing that a would-be aristocracy are combined against the labouring men, the mechanics, artisans, farmers, and producing classes of this country. The conduct of the Bank party towards our Irish citizens has been marked by the deepest atrocity. It should be borne in mind that men who are now the objects of their unmeasured denunciations; upon whom all sorts of abuse are now heaped; who are called by every variety of offensive epithet, are the very same men, whom, but a little week ago, they sought to wheedle and cajole by every soft and honeyed phrase; upon whom they lavished every art of blandishment and flattery to win them over to their side; whom they spoke of as honest and patriotic sons of Erin, as "true and warm-hearted adopted fellow-citizens," and as every thing that is good, heroic, and virtuous. What has caused this sudden and prodigious change? What! The very truth which they affected to admire, the very fidelity of which they prated, the very virtue and warm-heartedness which formed such prominent topics in their fulsome panegyrics. The same heated and inflammatory wretches, who, for the base uses of party, could so suddenly elevate "troglodites" and "the scum of the earth" into patriots and heroes, are equally able and ready, failing in their end, to sink them again into "low Jackson Irish,"

"bullies," "ruffians," and every thing else that is vile and low. Had our Irish fellow-citizens consented to go over to the Bank party with Macneven, they would, in the estimation of that party, have still been fine fellows, and patterns of truth and nobleness. There would then have been no need discovered of a marshalled band to keep them in order. It would not then have been found proper to break open the gates of the arsenal, and forcibly seize weapons of death for the sake of quieting them by shedding their blood!

We do most seriously and earnestly hope that prompt and efficient measures will be taken to investigate the transactions of the last three days. And place the odium on the right heads. Our city has been disgraced. Let us know who has cast the blot upon its character. An armed force has been found necessary to protect the arsenal from a set of fierce insurgents. Who were those insurgents, and what was their object? Let the matter be fully and strictly scrutinized.

We implore the authorities to take into their immediate consideration the propriety of placing the arsenal in some situation where it may not be liable to similar assault in future. An example has been set which may be followed hereafter to the imminent hazard of the lives of peaceable citizens. An excitement, like that which animated the infuriated Bank partisans, may seize hold of some future mob, and the way to the arsenal having been thus pointed out, we may find, ere we know there is danger, an armed, ferocious, and half-frantic band of desperadoes thronging the streets and killing peaceable men "to keep them in order." Some future hireling caitiff of the Bank, or the same one who has already made himself so infamously prominent, if he is suffered this time to escape condign punishment, may recommend to his frenzied followers "to strike a blow for liberty"! Let the authorities look to it. The efforts of the Bank and the Bank's tools are not done. That institution, it is true, has received its death-blow, but much harm may yet be done by its death-struggle.

The hirelings and advocates of a usurping and dangerous monopoly have once shown their readiness to possess themselves of the arms and ammunition deposited in the State Arsenal: let them not have an opportunity to do so again!

## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

### THE DEVIL,

THEY say, when he finds people idle, is sure to set them to work. I wish he would set to work a *queer, mysterious* correspondent of mine, who gives me his *name*, but *not his address*; who pesters me for a *package* that he, some weeks ago, put into my hands, without my wishing it; who knows (or ought to know) that it must be in London, and that I cannot send it him till I get there; and who is thus informed, that I will deliver it, or cause it to be delivered, to nobody but *himself*, or to some person bearing *his authority* to receive it. I do not like to have any correspondence with people who have *no addresses*, and who want me to communicate through *third parties*, whom I do not know, and am, it seems, *not to see*; except, indeed, it be "*the Belle Sauvage*," whom I have no longing to see, having seen that quite often enough to satisfy any man. This is after the fashion of those who live under the *Austrian police*. This is a "*recherche fine*" with the devil to it: much too "*fine*" for me; and I am determined not to *foul away* my time by having any thing to do with it.

### LIFE OF JACKSON.

THIS book, with an interesting frontispiece, and an exact likeness of the President, is now published, and may be had, very neatly bound in boards, at Bolt-court, and of all booksellers. The price is 3s.

This history was written by Mr. EATON, a senator of the United States, for TENNESSEE, the colleague of JACKSON in that station; and now his Secretary at

War. They both lived on their farms near NASHVILLE in TENNESSEE, and Mr. EATON was manifestly furnished with the official documents by JACKSON himself. My main object was to lay before the people of England the true character of this great soldier and statesman. I have, therefore, left out, in my abridgment, a large part of those details, which would not have been so interesting here, and which were not necessary to the furthering of my object; but I have omitted nothing tending to effect that object. Mr. EATON concluded his work with the conclusion of the last war, and of the wonderful feats of this resolute man at NEW ORLEANS. I have continued his history down from that time to the month of February last, giving a particular account of all his proceedings with regard to the infamous Bank.

As a frontispiece, there is a portrait of the President, which many American gentlemen have told me is a good likeness of him. It is copied from the portrait of Mr. EATON's book; and, of course, it was taken from the life and with great care.

I have dedicated this book to the WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND, as being a record of the deeds of a man that sprang from parents who formed part of themselves.

My readers have seen with what delight I have recorded the triumphs of this man. First, for his own sake; secondly, because he is descended immediately from poor Irish parents; thirdly, because he was so basely and infamously treated by British officers, at the early part of the American revolutionary war; but, above all things, because he sprang immediately from poor Irish parents.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 16, 1834.

### INSOLVENTS.

DICKINSON, G. J. R. J., Ealing, Middlesex, surgeon.  
GRAY, M., Kingston-upon-Thames, milliner.



## BANKRUPTS.

BATES, R., Wakefield, Yorkshire, linen-draper.  
 BLANCHARD, W., Old Compton-street, Soho, oilman.  
 CALISHER, N. J., George-street, Minorities, jeweller.  
 COLE, E., Wells-street, Oxford-street, corn-chandler.  
 HINDE, W., Liverpool, dry-salter.  
 LEGG, R., Exeter, coal-merchant.  
 MANDY, J., Amesbury, Wiltshire, draper.  
 MOSCROP, J., Manchester, joiner.  
 REYNOLDS, J., Manchester, merchant.  
 SALTER, J., Poole, twine-manufacturer.  
 SAUNDERS, E., Birmingham, tailor.  
 TURNER, R. J., Norwich and Catton, money-scrivener.  
 TURTON, J., Birmingham, spoon-maker.  
 WAKE, M., Wapping, chain-smith.  
 WITTEWRONGE, J., Warren, Blandford, Dorsetshire, draper.

TUESDAY, MAY 20, 1834.

## BANKRUPTS.

COMPTON, W., and W. Andrews, West Bromwich, Staffordshire, mercers.  
 DACHUS, L., Emscote, Warwickshire, cement-manufacturer.  
 FRANCIS, H., R. J. Turner, and C. J. West, Norwich, money-scrivener.  
 MARTYN, C., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, draper.  
 ROBERTSON, W. P., Buenos Ayres, Rio-de-la-Plata, merchant.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

GREIG, W., Perth, merchant.  
 HALL, B., Aberdeen, clothier.  
 WELSH, J., Meiklewithhead and Dalmonyside, Kirkcudbright, cattle-dealer.

## LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, May 19.—The supply of Wheat to-day from Essex was liberal, but from Kent, and the more distant counties, only moderate. The trade continued to wear a heavy aspect, and millers still refraining from purchasing, except what their immediate wants required, Monday's rates were with difficulty supported; and in some instances, secondary qualities were parted with on rather lower terms. In bonded Corn nothing doing.

Malting Barley was nearly unsaleable, unless at the prices of secondary qualities. Distillery and grinding sorts were in request, and the improved rates fully supported. Malt remains unaltered in price.

Oats were in moderate supply, and the demand continuing animated, Friday's rates were fully supported, being 1s. 6d. per qr. dearer than last Monday; and in some instances fine Scotch qualities obtained 2s. per qr. more money. Russian Oats in bond attract attention; for Archangel 11s. is offered, and very superior, 13s.

Beans were in limited supply, and prices evincing a tendency to advance.

Peas very scarce, and to the full as dear.

The Flour trade ruled heavy, and ship marks could only be disposed of by submitting to lower terms.

Wheat .....	45s. to 57s.
Rye .....	—s. to —s.
Barley .....	22s. to 24s.
— fine .....	28s. to 30s.
Peas, White .....	—s. to —s.
— Boilers .....	32s. to 37s.
— Grey .....	30s. to 33s.
Beans, Small .....	31s. to 37s.
— Tick .....	26s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato .....	21s. to 23s.
— Feed .....	17s. to 19s.
Flour, per sack .....	43s. to 46s.

## PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new .....	95s. to 100s.
— Mess, new .....	50s. to 55s. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast .....	66s. to 70s. per cwt.
— Carlow .....	50s. to 70s.
— Cork .....	—s. to 62s.
— Limerick .....	—s. to 62s.
— Waterford .....	50s. to 70s.
— Dublin .....	44s. to 46s.

## SMITHFIELD, May 19.

In this day's market, which exhibited throughout but a moderate supply, trade was, on account of advanced prices being pretty generally and stiffly demanded, very dull:—Say, with Beef and Mutton at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with Lamb, Veal, and Pork, at fully Friday's quotations.

About three-fifths of the beasts were Scots, about one-fifth short-horns, and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Devons, Welsh rufts, and Irish beasts, with about fifty Herefords, as many Sussex beasts, and about the same number of Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

About a third of the Sheep were South-Downs, about another third new Leicesters, of the South-Down and white-faced crosses; and the remaining third about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Norfolk, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 4,000, appeared to consist of about equal numbers of South-Downs, new Leicesters, of mixed crosses, and Dorsets, with a few pens of Kentish half-breds, and sundry casual or incidental crosses.

About 1,500 of the beasts, two-thirds at least, were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of Devons and short-horns, with a few home-breds, &c., were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 200, chiefly polled Scots, by steamers from Scotland; about 120, chiefly short-horns, with a few Devons, runts, and Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, &c.; about 100, chiefly Devons, with a few runts, and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 100, chiefly Sussex beasts, with a few runts, Devons, Irish beasts, &c., from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the neighbourhood of London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 23.

The arrivals this week are moderate, and the prices fully as high as on Monday.

#### THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann. }	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½

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firms the **DRAWING** of the **PRESENT**  
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